

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

Alternatives before us

TWO small incidents last week-end illustrated more vividly than statistics the truth with which Sir John Boyd-Orr has been trying to confront the nations.

The first was a speech by the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Tom Williams, insisting upon the need for greater production of food in this country; the second, an announcement by the Staffordshire Town and Country Planning Committee that the War Office intended to convert 3,000 acres of land, belonging to forty farms in the intended Peak District National Park, into a range for the Territorial Army.

On the same afternoon, 300 people were making a pilgrimage to the Abergirw Valley in Merionethshire, in protest against another War

COMMENTARY

by BRUCE ODSBUR

Office demand, this time for 10,000 acres. It looks as though the bird-watching and treasure-hunting of Field Marshall Montgomery's conscripts are going to prove somewhat expensive hobbies.

According to Sir John, unless the nations call a halt to the armaments-race upon which they are squandering their resources, the world food situation will inevitably go from bad to worse in the course of the next few years, with incalculable political consequences. It is not just fairer distribution of the available resources that is required—though this was emphasised at the Paris Congress of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers last week—but a concentrated effort to increase the available resources, in every primary producing area of the world. Yet even in this country the crop acreage has fallen since the War by more than a million acres; and no small part of this is due to the military.

Warnings unheeded

NOBODY heeds Sir John's warnings. Why?

In the last resort, I suppose, because man cannot live by bread alone. More even than the fullness of the belly he values the freedom of the spirit. Idealism, more than materialism, is responsible for the present disastrous outlook of the world.

Yet the more frantically we arm to defeat Communism, the more surely we defeat our own end. Economically, by promoting the very conditions of shortage, unrest and war upon which Communism thrives; morally, by instilling into one generation after another that faith in unlimited violence of which Marxism is the perfect rationalisation.

The futility of this proceeding should be obvious even to politicians. The more so since, at the end of all these preparations, it is the considered opinion of every dispassionate scientist that these islands will be as vulnerable as ever to the only kind of attack expected.

Realism in France

I TAKE the following passage from *Réforme* (May 26):

"It is true that the English nation today possesses one considerable trump-card: it can count almost for certain upon the support of the American forces. But it is not so certain that the Americans consider the British Isles defensible. Perhaps they might serve as an atomic base: and that would without doubt be the end. Per-

CIVILIAN PoWs MAY BE DEPORTED

To Face "Collaborator's" Fate

AN enquiry was recently made at Dick Sheppard House as to whether it was true that German ex-prisoners-of-war who had applied to remain in this country to continue their agricultural work were all to be repatriated, whether they wanted to go back to Germany or not.

We had previously heard from the Foreign Office that arrangements were being made under which all ex-PoWs remaining here on the land would be given facilities to return to Germany for a holiday at the end of this year. It looked as though the rumour of repatriation had grown out of this promised arrangement for holidays, for it seemed incredible that the British Government, having given the PoWs the choice of staying here, should be contemplating repatriation after so short an interval.

In order, however, to make certain, I put in an official enquiry and was informed that although the rumour is only a rumour, the question is under consideration and an official decision at the highest level will shortly be taken. I understand that what this means is that the present decision under which ex-PoWs will be able to go home for a holiday in Germany before the end of the year, if they wish, is very likely to be changed into a decision that they will have to go back to Germany

perhaps the government would find itself forced, without even attempting resistance, to abandon the mother country and take refuge in Canada.

"The minute stretch of water which separates the isles from the mainland is absolutely non-existent in regard to the weapons of modern war. England, like France, is undefendable."

Something of this French realism seems to have crept into the counsels of the Brussels Pact Powers. At any rate it is reported that the French see no point in proceeding with strategic plans unless an American alliance is certain; and the British can only retort that an American alliance will not be forthcoming unless the plans are first laid. In short, it appears that as soon as the military possibilities are really examined, it becomes clear that the most Western Union can be is an "atomic base" for America, or the Commonwealth, or both.

Unreliable allies

IT is not impossible that America and the Commonwealth may actually be less keen on possessing that atomic base than France and Britain are on providing it.

The tide of anti-British feeling which has swept the U.S.A. since President Truman's recognition of Israel has shown how loose is really the bond uniting America with Britain. Isolationism is not dead in the USA, and fuel may be added to it from the most unexpected quarters. The vagaries of American policy over the past twelve months show how little reliance is to be placed on that all too perfect democracy.

General Smuts' recognition of Israel was no doubt influenced by the same electoral considerations as President Truman's. It might have set in train a similar reaction in South Africa. As it happens, however, the centrifugal trend of the Commonwealth has received an even more powerful impetus from General Smuts' defeat.

The Republican victory in the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

by

STUART MORRIS

General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

and stay there whether they wish it or not.

We must do all we can to prevent this tragedy by ensuring that such a decision is never made—for it surely would be a tragedy. It is almost inevitable that it would be regarded as a breach of faith, for when ex-PoWs chose to stay here they certainly never contemplated such a speedy repatriation.

Already in Germany there is a growing criticism of those who are prepared to work for the Control Commission, and therefore a growing reluctance on the part of Germans to undertake such tasks in view of the fate of collaborators with occupying powers in the past.

The uncertainty about the future of Germany and the possibility that Britain and France might at some time withdraw does not help to make Germans feel any easier. What then is going to be the position of those men who elected to stay to help us here when they could have been repatriated as PoWs? That there will be difficulties for them, even in the British Zone, is certain, but the possible consequences of repatriating any of them to the Russian Zone are only too obvious.

Moreover, many of these PoWs have married British wives. It may be that it is intended to make some special provision for them but even that would not cover the case of those who have made their friends here and hoped that they would be able to find their happiness and usefulness amongst us. To raise such hopes and then dash them to the ground would be unpardonable.

INTOLERABLE

However strongly we felt about the retention of PoWs in this country against their wish, and however much we protested against the conditions under which they were originally held here, it seems intolerable that the British Government should now be contemplating the enforced repatriation of men whose services they have been only too ready to use when it suited them to do so.

It is true, of course, that although the circumstances prevailing after the recent war were never envisaged by the framers of the Geneva Convention, under that Convention not only PoWs but even these ex-PoWs are under the control of the occupying Powers in Germany. This would seem to be an additional reason for the setting up of a responsible German Government and the withdrawal of the occupying Powers at the earliest possible moment. Until, however, this happens, if we claim control over these Germans, we must also exercise a responsibility for their welfare. They must be given an opportunity of remaining on here for so long as they desire.

RELIEF—NOT REARMAMENT WILL BRING PEACE

Quaker tells U.S. Senate

HENRY J. CADBURY, who as Chairman of the American Friends Service Committee was this year handed the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to that organisation, appeared recently before the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee to give evidence in opposition to measures for introducing military conscription.

After pointing to the relationship between these proposals for conscription and America's fear of Russia he questioned whether an increase in America's "already preponderant force" would have a deterrent effect in the immediate future.

"I am persuaded that there is a more excellent way," Henry Cadbury declared. "To suppose that the only alternative to our present policy would be appeasement is to assume a false dilemma."

"There is a third way. Plato knew it. Gandhi had a name for it and he practiced it. It is more creative, more honourable, more sacrificial than either cowardly surrender or seemingly successful force. Nor is it retreat from responsibility into isolation. It is participation in world affairs with a leadership that is both humble and powerful, both peaceable and courageous."

"In the critical situation of our time, revolutionary courage is needed to adopt on an unprecedented scale such a new technique."

IN AREAS OF CONFLICT

"The AFSC has experimented for 30 years in just such difficult service. We have limited ourselves mainly to areas of conflict. We have operated on both sides of a war; we have tried it between white men and Negroes, between Moslems and Hindus, between Fascists and Communists, between Jews and anti-Semites. I have no doubt our successful experience could be multiplied many times by a nation that was ready to overcome suspicion and fear by open and unilateral acts of good will."

"We Quakers do not despair of any group. We sometimes find people slow to trust us, but there is often a reason for that which time can remove. When we are more anxious to do good ourselves than to suppress evil in others, when we try more to understand men than to bend them to our will, we find that we meet an extraordinary response."

"This is true in Europe and Asia. It is true as well in America, as shown both by those whom we serve and by the multitudes who assist us and who share ideals. We know there are many Americans who prefer this course and who believe our country should go much further in this direction."

PLAN FOR PEACE

"In the brief compass of this testimony one can mention only four of the major areas of endeavour among the many things which should be undertaken—revitalising the United Nations, firm international control over all armaments, a genuine programme of relief and recovery divorced from military intervention, and an intensive effort for healing and reconciliation both on the governmental and on the private organisational and individual level."

"It should be remembered that in spite of our many and deep differences, we and Russia have two things in common—a desire to survive, and a desire not to have outside inter-

(Continued on back page, col. 3)

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VICIOUS CIRCLE

IF one thing is certain in this uncertain world, it is that neither the Russian nor the American Government (let alone the people it rules) wants war in the foreseeable future. That Russia, her country still devastated, her population still decimated, and her militarists still (so far as we know) minus the atom bomb, just could not face a war is proof enough of this. Were the Americans aggressively-inclined, they could not have chosen a more favourable moment than that which they have allowed to go by.

The present international tension springs not from a wish for war, but from a belief that war is inevitable, common to both the Great Powers. It is this, more than anything else, that makes World War III. such a terrifying probability. It is this that all who seek to avert it should concentrate on refuting.

The Russians believe war to be inevitable because it is part of their creed that the contradictions of the capitalist system must sooner or later issue in aggression—that Communism, which is the only alternative, will therefore be established through “a succession of gigantic collisions with the imperialist powers.”

The Americans have been a long time waking up to the fact that Marxists believe in Marxism. Their first startled recognition was reflected in the sixty-page report on “the strategy and tactics of world communism” issued by a sub-committee of the House of Representatives no longer ago than last February. Now that their minds are clearing, however, now that they are beginning to understand the Russian point of view, they are beginning also to echo Stalin: “Who will defeat whom? This is the essence of the question.”

The danger is real that Mr. Truman's Cabinet may soon be debating that question which Mr. Roosevelt's debated in November, 1941—when, as Mr. Stimson recorded in his diary, “The question facing the Cabinet was how we should manoeuvre them (the enemy) into a position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition”—though not insuperable, as Pearl Harbour quickly showed.

So long as the Russians believe war to be inevitable, the Americans will prepare for war; so long as the Americans prepare for war, the Russian belief will be confirmed. The vicious circle is complete. How can it be broken?

How can the belief in war's inevitability be dispelled? How, in other words, can Marxism be refuted? In one way only: by demonstrating the reality of the moral will in the sphere of economics. The theory of economic determinism can be refuted only by the practice of economic voluntarism. The system which issues in war must be peaceably, democratically, revolutionised.

Such a revolution is unthinkable in a nation preparing for war. Economically and morally, it presupposes unilateral disarmament. Since, however, unilateral disarmament alone (if it were conceivable alone) would suffice to break the vicious circle, that conclusion must be accepted from the outset. It is the one hope for the world.

“It is all to the good that the nation owns the mines . . . to the bad that the State should run them.”

NATIONALISATION

THE resignation of Sir Charles Reid from the National Coal Board is a portent. Sir Charles is the greatest practical authority we have on the coal-mining industry: and he is a stout supporter of the nationalisation of the mines. It is not nationalisation, as such, that has disheartened him; but the particular form that nationalisation has assumed in Britain. He condemns the system for creating frustration among the managers and slackness among the miners; consequently the production of coal is less and its cost higher than it should be.

Complaints against the system by the workers themselves are frequent, and pointed. They add up to something simple, but of great human importance. The Boss has merely been replaced and multiplied by the Board.

Managers and workers are at one in saying that nationalisation of the mines has decreased the sense of responsibility in the personnel of the industry. And either side feels frustrated accordingly. The satisfaction expressed by the miners' leaders needs to be heavily discounted. The evidence is that it is not felt by the rank and file, nor is it really credible that the miners themselves are happy about a system under which the already high percentage of absenteeism has practically doubled.

The radical defect of the system is that it is centralised and bureaucratic. The percentage of the personnel of the industry engaged in the actual work of coal-getting is unhealthily small. Nationalisation has increased the top-hamper of the vessel, which was not riding over-steadily before; now it is positively top-heavy. The Trades Union, which has itself become a centralised bureaucracy, may find this state of affairs as natural as the officials of the Coal Board. But, underneath, the productive vitality of the industry is stagnant.

The coal industry is the most important example of nationalisation in practice that we have. Mr. Shinwell, himself, has lately confessed that the practical problems of nationalisation had been given quite inadequate consideration before the measure itself was introduced. Nationalisation (as every pre-war Socialist knows) was a slogan which saved people the trouble of thinking. It was the short and certain cut to the millennium. All the more realistic Socialist thinking which had developed in and around the Guild Socialist movement was forgotten in the excitement of the approach of political power. It was much easier

to think of the abstract terms of State Socialism, which seemed a natural extension of the activities of the social state. But he activities of the social state had been almost entirely confined to non-productive sectors of the national economy. The social state intervened only on the periphery of the actual productive work of the nation. It was unrealistic to suppose that the kind of organisation which had worked well in running the new health and insurance services would be at all appropriate for running the nation's most vital industry.

The new bureaucracy of the social state had been evolved for dealing with men as citizens, not with men as workers. The citizen and the worker, though they are united in the same man or woman, are totally different.

By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

The citizen is conscious of an obligation to the state, the worker is not. Loyalty to the state is quite unreal to the worker as such. It can only be felt if the relation of the state to the worker is mediated through all kinds of minor and local loyalties that are real.

Indeed there is plenty of justification for those who declare that State Socialism is really a contradiction in terms, because it is only State Capitalism. Hence the moral disillusion produced by nationalisation. The main motive of Socialism in Britain has been ethical: partly a protest against rank social injustice, more positively a demand that the worker should become a responsible partner in a co-operative community. At this latter point nationalisation, as so far practised in Britain, breaks down.

Furthermore, State Socialism is directly inimical to that development of civic responsibility on which democratic socialism must depend. It creates a massive trend towards totalitarianism which cannot really be checked by the rare exercise of a Parliamentary vote. If socialism and democracy are to be compatible, then the aim must be to create an educa-

Church & Communism

PEACE News has often disturbed me by its narrow subjectivism and general nebulosity, but never have I been more troubled than by the issue of May 28. The editorial and letter from Louis Renne on Roosevelt are such good examples of the tendencies in Peace News that I ask permission to deal with both in a little detail.

I do not, of course, disagree with all the opinions expressed in the editorial, but to say that the Church should transform communism is to ignore the great body of social doctrine that the Church's teaching contains. It is here, indeed, that I find my first cause of argument with the writer. “Had the Church,” he says, “made its own the workers' demand for political and economic justice . . . the appeal of communism might have been forestalled.”

This view ignores the fact that the majority of papal encyclicals deal with the problems of economic and social justice. These seek to lay down certain basic principles. To expect the Church to do more is to view the Church as a social welfare institution. The first end of the Church is to worship. Of late we have heard far too much of Christ the Worker and too little of Christ the King.

To equate Socialism and Christianity is disastrous. Socialism is a diluted practical form of what many would like to believe is Christianity, but it is a Christianity without Christ.

Similarly, Pacifism is too often Christianity without the Church. This is demonstrated by the last paragraph of the editorial. “We

shall know that the faith of the Church fulfils these conditions. . . .” Once again the individual sits in judgment on the Church; once again we are made to realise that the God of many pacifists is nothing more than a sanctified ego. Because we differ in our belief that no war is justified from the majority of Chris-

LETTERS

tians let us not be proud; let us above all things not fall into the error of Louis Renne.

Louis Renne mentions “countless little children slaughtered in his (Roosevelt's) ruthless war programme for profit and empire.” I always imagined pacifists were able to see both sides of the question. It seems that the writer is unable to realise that the majority of men and women who believe in a just war do so on the same high conscientious grounds as we who oppose it. Our best means of convincing them is to show by the every-day acts of our own lives that we are attempting to rid ourselves of all that leads to war—envy, temper, unrestricted passion. This is the effective way.

Let us hear less of the negative peace pledge and let us see and hear more Christianity.

NOEL TIMMS.

90 Messina Ave., West Hampstead, N.W.6.

The logic of the “Purge”

Mr. Page's reproach to my manners is probably justified, but I think he will agree that controversy cannot be conducted without emotive words, and that the frontier between emotive words and “rude” words is uncertain. But is not the important emotive word here the word

THE WORKERS TURN

THE larger gifts with which PN Fund has been so handsomely blessed up to now this year seem rather to have overawed the “small men.”

“From each according to his ability . . . —generosity equal in spirit though varying with means makes us as grateful for the half-crowns as for the £50's.”

So let the clerks, housewives, craftsmen and the rest of us have a Gifts for Peace drive at our own level! One of our staff promises 10s. on the first of July if 100 others, starting from today, can produce a similar sum. A very modest target this—PN staff can muster ten bob anybody can!

And whilst the workers are donating for peace we want to help them WORK for it too. News-wrappers, addresses and leaflets “Introducing Peace News” will be sent so that you can post on your copy every week and help others see the way to a war-free world.

HARRY MISTER. (Managing Director).

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tive society—a society which by its economic functioning fashions responsible citizens. By far the most potent factor in shaping the ethos of the average man is his daily work. If the organisation of that is such that he is not called upon to exercise any responsibility at all, there is precious little hope of his becoming a responsible citizen.

The remedy is (I believe) quite plain. It is all to the good that the nation owns the mines. It is all to the bad that the State should run them. Each mine should be run, in the main, as an autonomous unit, by a co-operative society which includes the whole personnel. Workers are not fools: they know as well as anybody that efficient management is essential. If managers and men were allowed to get together and share the responsibility for getting the best out of their pit, subject of course to an overall adjustment of prices as between easy and difficult pits (which is the proper function of the National Board) the industry would quickly come alive again.

At bottom, the problem of democratic socialism is to change the individualistic ethos, with which political democracy is historically allied, into a consciously co-operative ethos. State Socialism works rather against than for this purpose: and nationalisation, when it is the instrument of State Socialism, is correspondingly vitiated. The aim of democratic socialism should be the decentralisation, not the centralisation of industry—the creation of the maximum number of small or medium-sized producer co-operatives. It is perhaps significant that the Liberal party has now adopted such a programme.

“purge”? If instead of it and instead of Mr. Page's emotive word “persecution,” we spoke of the dismissal of communists from government employment, the episode might not stir up such strong feeling. The duty of public bodies to employ only trustworthy persons is surely not disputed.

It is on this issue that Mr. Page is subtle, indeed, Jesuitical. Pointing to the Aristotelian syllogism, he asks how I can infer that all communists are untrustworthy from the premiss that many are? The answer is I cannot, but that I induce it, just as I induce that the sun will rise tomorrow and that the fire I am about to light will warm me. All empirical science is based on induction, and Mr. Page is going to use only the Aristotelian logic and reject that of Mill, he will find knowledge—and life—unnecessarily difficult. I claim it to be an empirical fact that Communists put their loyalty to Moscow before any other political loyalties. If this is a fact, the arguments so ably marshalled by Mr. Sutherland follow according to the principles of entailment—and though several logicians have questioned these principles, I assume that Mr. Page accepts them.

MAURICE CRANSTON.

13 Smithwood Ave., N.6.

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East looks West

"FRONTIER GANDHI"

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as the "Frontier Gandhi," because of his work in organising turbulent North-West Frontier tribesmen as non-violent campaigners for Indian freedom is

ACTIVE AGAIN

From Hiralal Bose, PN Correspondent in India.

WITH the partition of India some of the Congress leaders living in parts included in Pakistan chose India as their field of work but many others remained in Pakistan, among these latter was that outstanding leader of people, loved and revered by all, Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

This trusted colleague of Mahatma Gandhi, who had brought many of the Frontier tribes into the service of Congress as an organised body known as the Khudai Khidmatgars, was known to have been opposed to partition and for many months there was much speculation concerning his future activity.

After some months of frustration Abdul Khan has emerged as leader of a new party—the "People's Organisation," which will be confined to Pakistan.

The aims and objects of the new party were outlined at a convention held in Karachi from March 8 to 10. Their first task will be to aid the stabilisation and security of Pakistan as a "Union of Socialist Republics drawing its sanction and authority from the people through their willing consent." The party calls for the provision of full and unimpaired autonomy for all the cultural and linguistic units of Pakistan and establishment of friendly relations with the neighbouring states, particularly India.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan told the Convention that he would now work for the general uplift of Pakistan, although in the past he had been against partition.

There could be no healthy democracy, he held, without a healthy opposition to the Government, this the People's Organisation would provide.

He referred to the prevailing critical international situation and said that the present trend of the big powers was leading the world to another global war. It was the party's duty to do everything in its power to save the world from the horrors of such a catastrophe and also to work for the establishment

of a world federation which would guarantee justice and fair play for all.

Citizens of Pakistan and adjacent tribal areas above eighteen years of age are eligible for membership of the new party which consists of:

1. An annual general session;
2. A council of the People's Organisation;
3. A Working Committee;
4. A Central Parliamentary Board;
5. Provincial organisations;
6. The Khan's Red Shirt volunteers, the Khudai Khidmatgars, who, with their life mission of service to humanity, will form the volunteer corps of the Organisation.

The convention, in a resolution, called upon the Government to solve the refugee problem satisfactorily by an inter-dominion agreement regarding the religious, cultural, political and other interests of the minorities.

West Looks East

If this creed is valid . . .

On the Sunday after Gandhi's death, America's Columbia Broadcasting System devoted its Chicago Roundtable broadcast to the Mahatma. Among the participants were For members Milton Mayer, who led the discussion, and John Haynes Holmes. Mr. Mayer's concluding comments are reprinted here, by permission.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW said of Gandhi's death, "It shows how dangerous it is to be too good." I would say on the contrary that the plight of Western man, including Mr. Shaw, shows how dangerous it is not to be good enough. Gandhi shows us a path to greatness that no Western leader seems even to have thought of taking, with the exception of William Penn. Gandhi, I think, shows us that greatness

consists in nothing more than goodness carried too far.

The American he most admired was Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau went to prison a century ago rather than pay taxes to a government which maintained human slavery; and his *Essay on Civil Disobedience*, which Gandhi read and re-read, argued not only the righteousness but also the effectiveness of individual non-violent non-co-operation with injustice. Thoreau wrote: "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison. . . . If any think that their influence would be lost there . . . they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person."

Jesus said, "If my Kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight." Gandhi's kingdom was of this world, and still his servants would not fight. Gandhi adapted Holy Writ to statesmanship, and in this strict sense, I think, we have to say that he was the first Christian politician since Jesus — Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln not excepted.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN

No cross, no crown; no suffering, no strength; no sacrifice, no victory — if this creed is valid, if politicians no less than persons must love their enemies, then all these warring statesmen who place their faith in force all fall together. All armed ideologies, including our own, fall together; all bosses who believe in force and all workers who believe in force fall together. If Jesus is right, if Gandhi is right, then Roosevelt and Hitler fall together, and Wallace and Taft, and Truman and Stalin. If Gandhi is right, all those who believe that force and pressure and power will carry the day are wrong, and always have been, even though some of them would use force for good rather than for evil purposes.

This, if it is true, is terrible to contemplate. The fate of Churchill's world empire and of Hitler's world slavery is before our eyes. If Gandhi is right, and if mankind survives in the spirit of love, then the ruins of democracy by force and communism by force will both bear their blackened testimony to the rightness of the Christian politician.

But this means a revolution much more radical than any of the revolutionaries have ever suggested. It means that we must change the whole order of personal and political life or change nothing.

OUT OF THE MOUTHS . . .

GREAT truths are often spoken by the lips of unsophisticated children. Pearl S. Buck reports that on hearing of the news of Gandhi's death her ten-year-old son with tears in his eyes said, "I wish no one had ever learned how to make guns."

Guns are as boys' catapults when compared to atom bombs. Even in India our leaders are encouraging researches into atomic energy with the ostensible reason of making use of it for production and not for destruction. This is always the sugar coating for every nefarious purpose. Our moral development lags well behind our mental advancement, leading us to use our knowledge for destruction.

From America a Reuter's news item states that the objective of the United States Atomic Energy Commission is to manufacture atomic bombs on a mass production basis and that the expansion of production facilities is to effect a continuous flow of component parts which will mean a speeding up of the final product also. The world is heading to a precipice. Shall we be spared even to say, "I wish no one had learned how to make atom bombs"?

J. C. Kumarappa,
Harijan, March, 1948.

WOMEN'S VIEWPOINT

ARE you saved? asked the old-time preachers — a difficult question to answer, but perhaps what they really meant was, Have you faith? And few people now could honestly affirm it.

It is not merely the old forms of faith that are dead, but we have no real belief in our elaborate modern substitute. As one reader puts it:

"The lights are going out in Europe, but that is not the whole story. . . . The greatest tragedy is that the light has gone from men's hearts. National and political fires can easily be lighted, but when a man loses his inward light, he is as good as dead."

"Almost a quarter of a century ago I used to attend a Methodist Chapel, where one of the old hymns went like this,

"Oh that in me a sacred fire
Might now begin to glow,
Burn up the dross of base desire,
And make the mountains flow."

"Fancy having enough sacred fire in one to melt a mountain! That couldn't happen today. People are too apathetic or frightened to want to move a mountain, even a mountain of hate and mistrust."

"The younger people laugh at me when I tell them of the fellowship we enjoyed in those old Methodist days—how we used to imagine the armies of God 'marching to Zion' and really believed 'these things shall be, a loftier race. . . ."

"Maybe I'm out of touch with the trend of things, having a home and family ties to clutter me up, but it seems to me that whenever I come into contact with young people they either shy away from anything suggesting an emotional appeal, or are frankly egoistical or unbelieving. People seem to have a hard knot where their hearts should be and so the flow of Love is dammed at its source. . . ."

"The fetters which bind us to modern society are strong, only by sweating blood can we break them. It is one thing to be aware of the falseness of present-day living, but it is another matter to defy convention, ignore loyalties, even cast aside father and mother to become re-born."

"Only the humble in spirit can become as little children and enter the Kingdom, but once a man is born again he is full of Grace, and through him the will of God becomes manifest. We have in him the ultimate man of God, a new creature re-born into a consciousness of the Kingdom of Heaven and able by his living example to prove to mankind that if a man lose his life he shall save it, for now the Love of God, has a direct flow, from God to man and back to God."

"That's how it should be, that's the only way hatred and suspicion and all evil can be melted away, by the pure flame of the sacred fire of Love."

"Well, folks, it's up to you! Here is a real challenge to pacifists, who ought to be more conscious than anyone to see that some sort of flame is kindled in men's hearts today, or else the flowers of a third generation are to be scattered to the four winds before they come to their blooming."

"Big Business cannot do it. Power politics cannot do it. Pacts, treaties, or mutual aid cannot do it. Only the Love of God working through YOU can do it."

EIRENE.

BAVARIAN PRESS WORKS FOR PEACE

From our Correspondent in Bavaria.

MUCH impressive statistical material, circulation figures and other information about the new German democratic press in the four zones is displayed at a Press Exhibition now open in Munich.

With an imposing display the Catholic Press reminds the visitors that in 1936 their circulation was nil, while today one paper is available for every 25 Catholics.

Newspapers edited by and for German emigrants up to the end of the war and dating back as far as 1933, as well as a collection of "underground" newspapers edited by resistance of later years, are also to be seen.

France, Austria and Switzerland are represented at this exhibition and very informative details are given of the history and development of the U.S. Press up to the present day.

"The great international participation in the Press Exhibition," says a Bavarian paper's report of the opening ceremony, "is a proof that foreign countries trust the German people."

The Press here recognises its duty not only to contribute to internal recovery but also to co-operate for understanding among the nations."

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Colour - bar Sentence Upheld

SENTENCES of 30 days with the road-gang, the maximum under North Carolina's "jimmie" law, were imposed last month on four members of an American group who carried out a non-violent campaign against the colour-bar in the Southern States last year.

As reported in Peace News on May 23, 1947, a group of sixteen young men, half of them negroes and half whites, set out on a two-week trip through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky to test out a Supreme Court decision which ruled out State laws requiring racial segregation in buses and trains in so far as these were applied to interstate travellers.

When the group arrived at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in a "Travelways" bus with the Negroes in the "White" seats and the Whites in the "Black" seats, several of them were arrested and in due course tried and sentenced.

The new sentences were imposed by a higher court after an all white jury, which, reports the Socialist Call, deliberated for 20 minutes, handed down guilty verdicts. The four men were all released on bail pending an appeal to the State Supreme Court.

The defence of the four men, Joe Felmet, southern field secretary of the Workers' Defence League, and Bayard Rustin, Igal Roodenko and Andrew Johnson of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was undertaken by attorneys of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

THEIR CHILDREN ARE HUNGRY

—an appeal from six German mothers

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3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Are They Bluffing?

A Case History of Japan, by Francis J. Horner, Sheed and Ward, 10s. 6d.

THE Japanese are a nation of perfect pupils. They have invented very little in any field, but they learn more and more quickly than any other people. At the moment they are learning to be democrats. Their teachers are Americans, and the headmaster, General MacArthur, is said to be very pleased with their progress. The erection of a second Statue of Liberty at Hiroshima holds a clue to the New Japan—the oriental replica of Hegel's metaphysical state become Uncle Sam's other island. Even the most optimistic organisers of post-war re-education could not have expected such a transformation as this.

And yet one wonders. The European mind cannot help suspecting that the Japanese are bluffing. They are in strong position, since the Americans need their aid in the Cold War against Russia and Communist China. They have only to put up a convincing show of doing what Uncle approves of to regain their industrial strength and (who knows) before long their war potential. If Japanese are easily taught, Americans are easily bluffed.

On the other hand it is conceivable that the majority of the Japanese are sincerely converted to democracy and pacifism. I hoped that Mr. Horner's book, which is up-to-date and well-informed (in the sense that the author has lived in Japan for fourteen years), would help me to make up my mind about this. But it has not.

The trouble with Mr. Horner is that his immense erudition on such subjects as Shinto and Buddhism is coupled with a thoroughly naive attitude towards the immediate political situation. On p. 198, for instance, he delivers himself of this choice utterance:

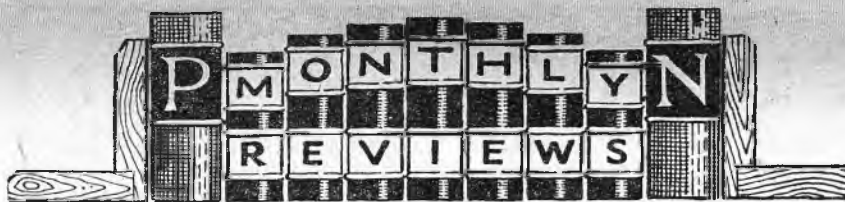
"It is the admirable display of tact by General MacArthur which has so much endeared him personally to the hearts of the Japanese, and which has been the chief reason why the Occupation has gone so smoothly and, up to the present, so successfully. He is an idealist, vividly conscious of a mission."

One might get away with this kind of remark at an Arkansas Rotary lunch provided everyone present was a Republican of the MacArthur-for-President faction, but in a serious historical study, it won't do. It must be insisted that Mr. Horner's book is a serious study, nevertheless, and happily the gaucheries occur only in the last few chapters.

Mr. Horner's particular merits shine out in a connection in which a good many authors only make fools of themselves, and this is in the field of psychology. Mr. Horner follows McDougall rather than Freud, and he avoids the Jungian monstrosity of a "national unconscious" which bedevils so much contemporary writing on social psychology. His judgments are cautious, reasonably argued and clearly set forth.

On religious topics Mr. Horner is least satisfactory on the Christian influence in Japan, and pacifist readers will be disappointed to find no reference to the movement led by Dr. Kagawa.

MAURICE CRANSTON.



LOOKING TWICE

Looking Before and After—A Collection of Essays, by John Middleton Murry. Sheppard Press, 12s. 6d.

TO pacifist readers of Mr. Middleton Murry's latest publication (latest in date though not in composition) a very special, if not the main interest, will be to relate it to his more recently written book, "The Free Society," in which quite frankly he abandons pacifism, and gives, with obvious sincerity, his reasons for doing so.

It is characteristic of Middleton Murry's ever-moving mind, so alert and apprehensive in the uptake, that faced with new factors for thought, he has never feared to come to fresh conclusions, or to an enlarged outlook. But it is startling, to say the least, that in this one instance, and on so crucial a matter, his moving mind has brought him to an entirely opposite conclusion to that which he previously held. In "The Free Society" he adopts the view that, for world peace and the preservation of human liberty, the arbitrament of war has become necessary; while throughout these earlier writings he consistently maintains that (in spite of Christianity's conventional acceptance of war in the past), pacifism has now become essential to man's moral integrity.

On what principle—or desertion of principle—has Mr. Murry's mind moved to so opposite a conclusion? It seems—to this reviewer at any rate—that in presenting the difficulties with which we are faced today for the preservation of social freedom, his process of thought has been pre-eminently logical; while in reaching the conclusions expressed in "The Free Society" he abandons logic and becomes an opportunist; and in his fear lest the social freedom we have secured should be wiped out by the rising ideology of Communism, he advocates the un-Christian and non-pacifist remedy of a "War to end War"—against Communism.

But in this, his latest book, there is an article, dated 1938, in which he comes to a precisely opposite conclusion. It is so important an exposure of the departure his mind has since taken, that I must quote it at some length. He says, as a preliminary, that from the time when Christianity had become the formally accepted religion of the State, it had also become generally recognised that to defend the temporal community was a Christian duty. And then he goes on:

"I believe, very deeply, that such an acceptance by the Christian of the duty of warfare is now impossible. The nature of modern warfare—in particular its sudden development into mutual mass-destruction—makes it incapable of toleration by the Christian conscience. Difficult though it is to define the moment in the process of God's history at which warfare does become intolerable to the Christian conscience, I find it necessary to assert that there is such a moment, when warfare passes from the condition of a grim necessity which a Christian may accept, into the condition of an abomination which he must repudiate. . . . But it seems to me that in the course of history and of scientific de-

velopment, we have now reached a point where we are compelled to hold that 'any condition of society is better than modern war.' I do not believe that proposition was true even fifty years ago. I believe it is true today. It seems to me that modern warfare is self-evidently an abomination which the Christian conscience cannot tolerate except at the price of its own gradual extinction."

Now how does Mr. Murry's moving mind reconcile itself to so fundamentally contradictory a conclusion in its outlook of today as against that of yesterday? Am I wrong in saying that he does so by abandoning the integrity of the individual? Practically, he tells us in "The Free Society" that our modern organised community has become so complicated that the individual no longer exists as an effective factor, and you have to substitute some larger social feature in which liberty of conscience and freedom to function have found better expression; and this he finds in the political freedom of modern democracy and in its exercise of the vote. That political freedom he regards as the most practical expression of Christianity in our present social order; to the Churches he denies it; and with that as the substitute for the individual conscience (which has ceased to be effective) the need for individual integrity goes by the board!

I wish I could believe that I have misunderstood and misinterpreted Mr. Murry's conclusion—that because the individual has ceased to be socially effective the validity of his integrity is to be taken from him: that what cannot be practically efficient for the time being is no longer morally relevant.

Yet elsewhere in the same article, from which I have quoted, he claims that failure and a lost cause are no proof that man is not truly serving God, and that the world's salvation may have to come by way of destruction:

"It seems indeed," he says of the problem confronting us today, "as though one of two things is necessary for mankind: either a retrogression into unknown barbarism, or an advance into a more Christian system of human and national relations than has been experienced before. Nothing in history, nothing in Christianity, supports the belief that these two processes are mutually exclusive. On the contrary, both history and the Christian faith incline us rather to the expectation that these will occur simultaneously—THAT THE NEW ORDER WILL ARISE AMONG AND OUT OF THE WRECKAGE OF THE OLD."

The emphasis is mine; and it seems to me that it was from the fear of having to face that wreckage in the service of Christianity that Mr. Murry became an opportunist and wrote "The Free Society."

For readers whom that book has bewildered and distressed, this collection from Mr. Murry's earlier writings is a valuable corrective.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

Saga of Suffering

Ravensbruck, by Denise Dufournier, with a gesticulatory preface by Maurice Schumann. Allen and Unwin, 8s. 6d.

MME. DUFOURNIER'S effort to communicate her experience of the women's concentration camp at Ravensbruck cannot be adjudged a success. She seems too immersed in the experience still to give us any clear idea either of the constitution of the camp itself or of the sufferings of its thousands of inmates. Everything is incoherent, arbitrary, phantasmagoric. In consequence even the horrors fail to horrify, they only numb—because, as a great critic has said, the unforgettable horror of an inhuman experience can only be rightly rendered by rendering also its relation to the harmony and calm of the soul which it shatters."

This appears most strikingly by contrast with an account of the same camp which appeared in a recent number of The Adelphi, "On the Sands of Mecklenburg," by Eugenia Kocwa. Whereas Mme. Kocwa could have endured no less than Mme. Dufournier, she gives the impression of one who, by comprehending her suffering, has triumphed over it, and succeeds in conveying that whole world of misery lucidly to the eye of the imagination: terrible, because intelligible; moving, because restrained.

Not for a moment does Mme. Dufournier reveal such detachment. Her courage, great as it is, is not of the kind that submits to experience until all that is of the self alone is purged away, and only a divine pity remains; it consists rather in the refusal to submit, or even to discard a single principle or prejudice. Of her fellow-prisoners who happen to be of German nationality, she is able to write:

"They were representative of the average German—for the most part country women—and the brutality of their actions, their hypocrisy and their bestiality, which I had the opportunity of witnessing at close quarters since they were my working companions, gave much food for thought as to the fundamental virtue of the race."

Towards the Germans themselves, "that soulless race," she hopes that her book will "arouse in the reader a just anger."

Contrast with this the confession of Mme. Kocwa: "We suffered so terribly that I do not think of punishment for our tormentors. Such things can only be forgiven and they must be forgiven."

It is possible, as Storm Jameson says, that "the only people who have a right to talk of punishment for the crimes committed in the prison camps of Europe are those who lived through them." Equally it is possible that they alone have the right to talk of forgiveness. It would be sheer presumption for us to judge between Mme. Dufournier and Mme. Kocwa; but of the two verdicts, there can be no doubt which constrains our loyalty.

F. A. L.

VOICE OF THE CHURCH

The Church, The Gospel and War, A Symposium. Harper Bros., New York. \$2.

SOMETIMES a book demands and clamours for an author. Today the situation of the Church cries out for a statement of the full case for Christian pacifism, from its permanent theological foundations to its immediate historical application. Such a book would come with maximum force and authority if written as a symposium by pacifists who are themselves among the leading Christian scholars and thinkers of the day.

At first sight the present volume looks like the book which is required. Edited by Rufus Jones, it contains essays by Canon Raven, Paul Gliddon, Archdeacon Hartill, Professor Farmer, Laurence Housman, Evelyn Underhill, and, amongst its American contributors, the famous historian of Christianity, Professor Latourette.

And the essays fulfil in their quality the high expectations which such names raise.

But nevertheless it must be said that the book for which the Church has been waiting still remains to be written. The present symposium can only be regarded as a temporary stop-gap; for it suffers from the double defect that it was not planned as a unity, nor written in terms of the Church's present pressing dilemma in relation to atomic warfare. All but two of the essays are reprinted, two of them having been written before the war, and only two mention the atomic bomb. Thus this is a re-publication of unrelated writings of the last twelve years, rather than a book consciously arising out of and speaking to the immediate crisis in Christendom. And as such it lacks any note as of Christians urgently speaking together as they seek for God's will in a new age.

Of the fresh material Professor Latourette's essay on "Christianity and the Peace Movement" is a statement for which we shall all be grateful. Amongst the re-printed material there is perhaps the most convincing brief statement to date of the Christian pacifist position in Professor Farmer's essay, "The Christian and war." And, indeed, all the contributions are in themselves of real value.

It is the editing that calls for criticism. The various topics treated overlap; several important aspects of the subject are omitted altogether; and above all the book was written for the most part in the pre-atomic world. I would therefore like to end by voicing the plea that some of our pacifist theologians should produce the symposium of both the necessity and the possibility of which this book is a reminder.

JOHN HICK.

THE BISHOPS AND WAR

In view of the Lambeth conference

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THE VEN. PERCY HARTILL
(Archdeacon of Stoke)

THE REV. PAUL GLIDDON

Chairman:

THE REV. B. C. HOPSON

ALL WELCOME

What FRENCH SECURITY means to EUROPE

"Well informed circles here are of the opinion that, as France and the Benelux countries have made several concessions to the American point of view in connection with the political future of Germany, it is not too much to expect something in the nature of a quid pro quo from the Americans on the economic problems being discussed. It is also thought that not enough consideration has been given in the talks to the question of French security." The Times Paris Correspondent (May 23).

"On Saturday the French seem suddenly to have drawn back; the French Press says that difficulties arose as soon as the deeper implications of the two questions of control of the Ruhr and a German Government were considered. The French newspapers too lay stress on the dangers of a resurgence of an aggressive Germany, dangers which they say are not fully appreciated by Britain and the United States; they also speak of Russian-American rivalry and of 'United States indecision in regard to the question of military support for Western Union.'" The Times Diplomatic Correspondent. (May 25).

NOW the "security" of France against the "resurgence of an aggressive Germany" does not really enter into the picture at all; since Germany, after six years of destructive war and three years of organised looting, in addition to the loss of her Eastern Provinces and the complete collapse of her economic equilibrium, is clearly quite incapable of aggression of any kind for an indefinite period. But her industrial potential, mineral wealth and manpower make Germany a most important factor in the struggle for European supremacy, which the USA and the USSR are waging with non-lethal weapons for the time being; while France, though officially a member of the Western Bloc, in reality is playing a lone hand, hoping to extract from the tangled situation the largest possible measure of power and influence for herself.

It is becoming increasingly evident that France holds a "trump card" in this game. For there can be no agreement on Western Germany without France, since the French Zone must be included within any West German State; and moreover, France is fortified by her close alliance with Britain. Most important of all: France is the very keystone of

By E. W. P. VEALE

the structure of Western Union, which Britain is endeavouring to erect with American help. The merest hint that France might dissociate herself from the Anglo-American strategic conception and make her own peace with the Soviets would suffice to win defiance to the French viewpoint from Britain and the USA.

The French aim is to keep a firm grip on the Ruhr and its productivity, thus reviving what was the aim of Raymond Poincaré in 1923, when he sent French troops into the Ruhr and set up the "Comité des Forges," the object of which was to effect a merger of French and German heavy industries under French direction—in short, to annex the Ruhr economically to France, just as the Saar has already been annexed.

BRITAIN'S REPLY

In 1923 Britain did her utmost to block the French game: the British Army of Occupation on the Rhine sat tight in Cologne until the Dawes Plan of 1924 averted the danger and the French evacuated the Ruhr. For Britain in 1923 did not like the thought of France controlling the industrial heart of Europe one little bit—and she does not like it any better now! But the position has changed a lot in twenty-five years, and not at all to Britain's advantage. Faced with the mighty Soviet Union and its attendant Eastern satellites, this country dare not alienate her one ally on the Continent. It follows therefore that Britain will have no choice but to support France in this vital matter.

France is in effect asking for something for nothing, since the constitution of the new German State will be a triviality if the State is to be a mere dummy, with no real administrative powers whatever, and with its most important territory under permanent foreign control.

Soviet propaganda from Berlin has accused the Western Powers of seeking to break up German unity by detaching the Western Zones from the Eastern Zone. This accusation—which The Times describes as "baseless and impudent"—may not be true so far as Britain and the USA are concerned (though it was Mr. Marshall and not M. Molotov who said the last word at the London

Conference) but it certainly is true with regard to France. The chief aim of French policy is to break Germany up into as many pieces as possible and keep her so—in short, to put the clock back to 1850! Not only does France acquiesce in the separation of Eastern from Western Germany: she is determined that the new Western State shall be nothing but a shadow and the Frankfurt Parliament a mere talking shop with purely parochial powers and no say whatever in finance, industry and foreign policy.

DEFEAT FOR BIZONIA?

This French aim simply cuts the ground from under the Anglo-American propagandists who are trying desperately to convince the German people that the door remains open for Soviet co-operation in the administration of a United Germany. The all-too-evident determination of France to maintain the present status of Western Germany as one vast concentration camp and of its inhabitants as virtual serfs, with no share in the governing of their own country makes a mockery of the Anglo-American appeals to the West

ADVICE

"Moral and spiritual leadership in a sick world by the commonwealth of free nations is probably man's last chance of averting the greatest catastrophe in history."

—Sir John Boyd Orr, *Evening Standard*, May 28.

- UNHEEDED

A new way of training Britain's week-end soldiers, recommended by Field Marshal Lord Montgomery, is called TEWT (Training Exercise Without Troops), is "based on a pub, is very popular with officers and NCOs, and should be exploited."

The National Serviceman must be returned to civil life keen on soldiering Montgomery urged.

—*Evening Standard*, May 29.

Germans to co-operate for the regeneration of Western Europe and the unification of Germany. Such appeals will be drowned by the Soviet voice from Berlin unless French Chauvinism be persuaded to dismount from its high horse and the security of France be merged into the common defence of Western Europe through mutual good will.

PUBLICATIONS

Power of the Quaker Message

THE title of R. M. Entwistle's pamphlet, *Civilisation, Is there a Cure*, is reminiscent at once of Edward Carpenter, and like that great man, Mr. Entwistle is well worth reading. He is one of those who try to see the modern crisis in terms of human history, not local politics, and these are always the most fruitful writers, although they are by no means the most optimistic. "The typical western face is compact of the stresses of the Time-struggle, as contrasted with the recollected Peace which belongs to Eternity," he says. "The mark of the Will is stamped on the thousand faces that we see in passing every day," and the whole essay moves on that level. This, No. 1 of "Unpolitical Pamphlets" costs 1s. from 29 Goodwyn Avenue, N.7 and if the following numbers prove of equal worth, I shall look forward eagerly to their arrival.

Pendle Hill, the American Quaker community, continues to send out power, as a dynamo emits current. There is a solidity and vitality about these writings of the Society of Friends which make non-members wonder and marvel. These Quakers see the chasms and terrors about

us, but are unafraid; they are usually in the thickest of the dilemmas, always asserting that the solutions are available here and now and not only in the Ultramontane Kingdom of God, yet they seem serene, certain, sane. THE QUAKER MESSAGE is a Pendle Hill compendium from the Quaker classics, intended to help us to understand the power which makes this small Christian society such a bright and warming light in the world. The sections on The Inner Light and the Conscience are very interesting. The picture of Quakerism that emerges is of a practical mysticism, a wonderful agreement of Time and the Eternal. And strangely enough the word which continually recurs to one is "Catholic."

Pendle Hill is also responsible for *Kasturba*, an account of the life of Mrs. Gandhi by Sushila Nayyar. This is a touching story of love and comradeship. Revealing as it does the differences between the Indian way of living and our own it shows also that unity which binds together all suffering and aspiring souls. Some of the moments recorded are pathetic, and Mr. Gandhi is shown in attitudes we are not accustomed to attribute to him. This strong man could be acidulous as well as gentle, but his wife seems to have been quite without the former quality.

P.T.G.

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MEETINGS, &c.

CAYTON HALL (York Hall). Abolition of Corporal Punishment in Schools. A Conference to which all in sympathy are invited on Sat., June 12, 2.30-6.30 p.m. (tea interval). Speakers include Cyril Bibby, Peter Freeman, MP, Isaac Frost, Kingsley Martin and W. David Wills. Hon. Sec., Parliament Mans., Abbey Orchard St., S.W.1.
SIR HUBERT HENDERSON, on "Western Union—The Economic Problems." Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. Wed., June 9, at 1.15 p.m. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.
LONDON AREA Poetry & Drama Circle. First mtg., Fri., June 11, 7.30 p.m., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. Readings of his own work by Bryan Anstey. Discussion of future plans. Refreshments. All welcome. Tickets of admission 2s. (inclusive) from London Area PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. EUSTON 5501. Circle members free.

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QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

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A new light from the East

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

South African election seems to have taken most British correspondents by surprise. The fact that Smuts' pro-British policy in 1939 brought the Dominion to the brink of civil war was never revealed in this country, and very few people had any idea of the strength of the opposition to his party. It is likely, however, to have far-reaching consequences throughout the Commonwealth and Empire.

Africa puts the clock back

SOUTH AFRICA presents the now familiar spectacle of a great democracy turning its back on the very principles of equality and fraternity which have inspired all that is precious in the Anglo-Saxon heritage—and which constitute the invisible bond between the Dominions and the Mother-country.

There is more than a casual connection between Dr. Malan's demand for secession from the Commonwealth, always liable to be resuscitated, and his demand for *apartheid*, which, being interpreted, means—slamming and bolting every door to social advancement in the face of the coloured majority. We have had many hard things to say in the past about General Smuts' attitude towards the Negroes and Indians; but his policy of "trusteeship," however limited in conception and deficient in execution, represented the best that the white minority would tolerate: now it will not tolerate even that.

How far the Republicans will actually be able to go in carrying out their electoral programme remains, of course, to be seen. Much of it is plainly impracticable, since the loudest exponents of racial segregation would probably be the most reluctant of all to lose their cheap native labour. But it is obvious that any further repression of the Negroes will not only stimulate the struggle for independence throughout the West African colonies, but powerfully strengthen the case for complete independence in India and Pakistan.

Eastern example

BRITAIN would do well to reconsider her policy of armed defence against Communism. After all, it is not the only one. Even the Archbishop of York admits that. Only last week he discounted the idea of a "holy war" against Communism (it made headlines in the morning papers), on the ground that such a war would fatally embarrass the Christians of Eastern Europe and Russia. Evidently he must believe that these Christians have some chance of achieving their end without recourse to violence. And if such a thing is possible for them, why should it be impossible for us?

The resistance of the Churches in Eastern Europe is actually one of the most instructive features of the pre-

sent world-scene. It cannot be dismissed merely as the reactionary gesture of bodies that have lost their privileged position under the old regime, if only because the Communists have shrewdly refrained from any frontal attack on that position. In Czechoslovakia, indeed, whence the latest rumours of revolt are seeping through, the priesthood actually enjoys a better stipend from the State today than it did before the war.

The Calvinist Church in Hungary openly welcomed the socialisation of basic industries and the land-reforms carried through by the Communist front, promising its full co-operation as long as it was free to proclaim the Christian message. The position of the Catholic Church is more difficult, since, unlike the Protestant, it possesses an elaborate body of social teaching which at certain points conflicts sharply with that of the Communists. But the object of both Churches is clearly the same: to keep open the possibility of a Christianisation of the new regime.

Kulturkampf

WHILE the natural policy for Protestants to adopt would seem to be one of non-resistance—compliance in all demands not directly contradicted by conscience, the Catholics may have recourse to a measure of non-violent resistance in the event of certain "reforms" being imposed: and in this connection it is to be noted that in Yugoslavia, the most thoroughly Russianised of the satellite states, there is already some talk of collectivising the peasantry.

What the outcome of this struggle will be, we shall not know for a number of years: but clearly if the "values of western civilisation" can be reasserted in the East, even by a minority partly discredited and demoralised by its past resort to arms, they could far more effectively be asserted in the West, by a majority voluntarily choosing the path of non-violence.

The Archbishop shrinks from that moral, as well he may: nobody wishes to be a martyr, and nobody can be confident today that the blood of martyrs will be the seed of the Church. But when economic and moral realities alike point to the conclusion that the blood of soldiers is the seed of the Party, it is incumbent upon those who reject this policy to propose a feasible alternative.

RELEASE DATES FOR C.O.s

Approximate dates when conditionally registered C.O.s may expect to receive their release notices are:

Group 71: June 6; 72: July 3; 73: July 13; 74: Aug. 3; 75: Aug. 26.

—CBCO.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, June 4, 1938.

The leaders of the Confessional Church have decided to refuse to take the oath of loyalty to Hitler which National Socialist Church authorities demanded from pastors by the end of the year.

In Berlin alone refusal to take the oath has come from more than a hundred pastors.

The Peace Pledge Union has now started in New Zealand and is trying to co-ordinate the work of other pacifist groups.

"It is far more difficult now to remove the evil which is the root and ground of Fascism and Communism alike, than it would have been twenty years ago.

"What we have got to do is to get across to the hearts and consciences of the German, Italian and Russian people. That is a very tall order. The only way to do so is to make such magnificent and genuine offers as will be understandable by the ordinary people.

"If we go on exactly as we are going on now we become in action indistinguishable from anyone else. If we are going to be distinguishable in a state of emergency, it is essential that we should be distinguishable before that state of emergency."

—Max Plowman, in a lecture on "The Work Before the PPU."

RELIEF—NOT REARMAMENT

(Continued from page one)

ference with our internal affairs. Nothing that we can honourably do should be left undone in an attempt to secure at least a limited agreement for the extension of government and law.

"We should not be afraid of Communism as an idea. We like to think we have a better idea. We are afraid of Communism backed with military weapons, and Russia is afraid of capitalism backed with atomic weapons. The present tragic cycle must be reversed, and we must seek our security through law instead of through competitive armament.

"What the world needs most now is not more guns, more weapons of mass extermination and mutual suicide. It needs the healing touch of faith and trust, words and deeds of reconciliation, building bridges and works of mutual helpfulness."

AFSC Bulletin.

THEY WANT PEACE NEWS BUT CANNOT BUY IT

"Accidentally I have received your Peace News No. 615 and read the article 'Link up with Germany.' I am interested in pacifism and therefore very glad about this article. Please when it is possible send me your copies of Peace News and other periodicals after anybody has read them. I should be very grateful for your favour. Many thanks in advance."

There are still a number of German pacifists and others asking for Peace News, but not sufficient English readers offering to post on their copies week by week. Addresses in Germany will be sent to readers on receipt of a Post Card at Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. The printed rate postage to Germany is only one halfpenny.

Dutch International Camp

The Dutch socialist weekly, *De Vlam*, is to hold another International Camp this year, from July 17 to Aug. 7 at Leezum, near Arnhem, in the province of Utrecht. This follows the successful Camp held last year at Junne bij Ommen.

Tom Rot, the Dutch organiser, has written to George Plume, of 31 Fotheringham Road, Enfield, Middlesex, asking for a strong representation from Britain, commenting that English is freely spoken in the camp and that friends from Britain will be expected to pay only what they can afford.

Further details may be had from the British address given above or from Tom Rot, *Vlamkamp-Bureau*, Singel 135, Amsterdam, Holland.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

Open-air peace meetings during the month of June are being held at the following places:

LONDON: Finsbury Park, Sundays at 10.30 a.m. Hyde Park, Sundays at 6.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields, Thursdays at 12.45 p.m. Fridays at 12.45 p.m. Tower Hill, Mondays at 12.45 p.m.

HUDDERSFIELD, LEEDS and BRADFORD will be visited each week-end this month by speakers from PPU Headquarters who will address open-air meetings.

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British Institute of Practical Psychology

10A, (2P3), Highbury Place, London, N.5.

PACIFISTS TO PICKET ROYAL TOURNAMENT

THE Peace Pledge Union has prepared a special leaflet for distribution to those attending the Royal Tournament at Olympia from June 10 to June 26.

The leaflet quotes the words of Ernest Bevin, that "the choice today is between total war and total peace, and calls upon members of the public to choose total peace and join those who have 'renounced war and will never support or sanction another.'"

It is hoped that there will be sufficient volunteers from all the Peace groups and movements in London to arrange for mass selling of Peace News outside Olympia as well as the distribution of the leaflets.

Those who are able to be at Olympia (Addison Road, Hammer-smith) from either 1.0—2.30 or 6.0—7.30 p.m. during the period of the Tournament—especially on the three Saturdays—are asked to forward their names to Gwyneth Anderson, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. Those who cannot help in this way are invited to send a donation to defray the cost of the campaign.

"CERTIFIED SANE" BROADCAST TIME IS ADVANCED

A dramatised version of the Sheppard Press publication, "Certified Sane," by Helene Jeanty (reviewed in PN on May 14), is to be broadcast, not in the last week of July, as formerly announced, but on June 25, at 7.30 p.m. on the Home Service.

On Monday, June 7, at 6.40 on the Third Programme, Philip Toynbee will be giving a broadcast talk on William Law, based on the volume of Law's writings edited by Stephen Hobhouse, which was reviewed recently in Peace News. Mr. Hobhouse is now engaged in preparing a companion volume to this book, a new and annotated edition of Bishop Martensen's fine study of Jacob Boehme, the great German mystic who inspired and taught William Law.

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— Send stamp for booklet —

Garlisol Company, Fairlight, Sussex

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